1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *han-eh'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

and making their living by stealing." The boy himself told several villagers that he had to steal so that he would have money to buy food for his mother in prison. Whatever the reason for his activities, he was eventually arrested and briefly confined in a juvenile ward. When this news somehow reached his natal family which lives not far from Hsiachichou, the boy's father came to the village and angrily accused Ong Chun-ieng's mother of "not caring whether the child is in prison or not." He demanded that the family return the child to him "if they didn't care what happened to him," and Ong Chun-ieng's mother answered that "you just want him back now because he is old enough to work." After several such visits, each of which precipitated a bitter quarrel in the path before the house, the father did somehow manage to reclaim the boy, and he lived with his natal family a number of months before finally returning to Hsiachichou.

While it is difficult to estimate the frequency of such incidents they evidently occur often enough to make most people apprehensive about buying a male child. Those families who do make such adoptions always make every effort to conceal the fact of his adoption from the child himself, hoping in this way to prevent his becoming involved with his real parents. One village family who had bought a male child told us that for years they hid the boy's registration card from him, and another village family is said to have bribed the police to register the child as having been born into the family. People who want to sell a male child recognize these fears and try to counter them by traveling to an area of the island where they are not known so that they can

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 596 604 578 to reason with his nephew about the situation and to educate him in some of the subtle details of social relations, a subject the Chinese classify with their other art forms. He failed because of his own temper and because he was not aware of the real reason for A-bok's anger with the man. A-bok's younger brother, Masa, who is frantic to get out of the village and into a white-collar job, was sent to work in this man's pharmacy, a business concern in which the Lim family has invested a small amount of money. Masa often slept in the shop and one night, after obtaining the permission of the owner, three of his friends spent the night there with him. Sometime during that twenty-four hour period, a small sum of money was stolen from the shop. None of the boys were out of Masa's sight during their stay, and he knew them well enough to vouch for their complete honesty. The owner accepted his statement, but commented tactlessly, "When no one is here to guard, I don't lose money, but when I have four guards, the money disappears." This made Masa furious. He went out, borrowed the small sum that was missing, and presented it to the man who was graceless enough to accept it, still however agreeing to Masa's innocence in the matter. A-bok has never forgiven the man for this insult, but he cannot explain his anger to his uncle because relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his youngest nephew, Masa, are good only when they are out of each other's sight.

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159 596 593 578 As the senior male in his branch of the family, it is from A-bok that the formal request for a division of the joint family must come. Lim A-pou, whatever her other faults, is not the kind of woman who nags. She has nonetheless made it quite clear to her son that she would be happy to see them set up as an independent unit. A-bok's reluctance to take this step shows the good sense for which his uncle gives him too little credit. It also is an example of the pride that even his mother must admit does justice to his father and his grandfather. In his youth, A-bok showed some signs of following his father's way of life. He spent every evening with the local youths and, according to some, was involved in a certain amount of *lo mua* activity. Because of his father's career, A-bok's inclinations were taken more seriously than those of his peers, causing distress to his mother and whispers in the village. Lim Han-ci, however, turned out to be a much stronger force in A-bok's life than his father. Lim Han-ci was still a hard taskmaster in A-bok's adolescence, but his harshness had mellowed—not yet to the extent of spoiling his grandson as his own father had

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648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

• 685 [674] The police are in charge of crime when it does occur although crime is fairly rare in the village as compared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are classified into two types: external, as when an outsider steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood. About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and victim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.[7]

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 648 681 There was a similar organization under the Japanese but at that time the volunteers had more training, a regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat ransgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 625 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 632 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol